

# The Mita Campus

KEIO UNIVERSITY  
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'calamus gladio fortior'

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## The Centennial Naming Ceremony of Keio Univ. Held with Great Pomp

The Centennial Ceremony of the Naming of Keio Gijuku was held on May 5 attended by 2,000 people concerned with Keio University.

The Ceremony began at 10:00 a.m. with a ceremonial address by President Nagasawa. He said, "The present Keio Univ. was only a private school for the study of the Dutch language and belonged to the Nakatsu clan. Just 100 years ago it was renamed Keio Gijuku by Yukichi Fukuzawa and thereby became an independent school. During the battle of Shogitai at Ueno, Edo (present Tokyo), Yukichi was reading an economic book by F. Wayland with the students of the school and was quite indifferent to the battle going on. That day was May 15." After describing this, Nagasawa stated the following four things that people concerned with Keio University must do: First, they must recognize the merit and the goodness of a continuous education from primary school to university. Secondly, they must further reform Keio University as university. Thirdly, they must realize the cooperation within Keio university. Lastly, they must cultivate the character of Keio University. He said that laboratories are now being constructed and removal of the building of Dept.

of Technology is planned for accomplishing this. President Abe of Waseda University stated that Yukichi Fukuzawa was one of great men of modern Japan in that he positively opposed the feudal system. After that Mr Matsuda who is a representative of Jukuin (undergraduates and post-graduates of Keio Univ. and people concerned with Keio Univ.) spoke. Yoneyama, professor of the Dept. of Law, made a congratulatory address as a representative of the faculty of Keio University. In it, he especially stressed the following point: Students must think about political questions without taking part in political movements. And after a congratulatory address from a student and the announcement of the congratulatory telegram from Governor Usami of the Bank of Japan (a graduate of Keio), a Doctor's Degree was conferred on Yasuzemon Matsunaga and Seichiro Takahashi who then delivered a lecture on Keio University and the First year of Meiji (1868). In it he praised the greatness of Yukichi Fukuzawa and at the same time he mentioned the character of an economic book by F. Wayland and Shogitai (a group of Samurai who protested against government troops in the end of the Edo era). Finally, ceremonial music composed by Ikuma Dan was played under his command.

This splendid ceremony came to an end at 12:00.

## Three Parties Speech Meeting at Hiyoshi

A joint speech meeting of the big three parties titled 'Request for Peace and Security in Japan' was held on May 25 at 1:00 p.m. in the room No. 40. It was held under the sponsorship of the Debating Society. More than 400 students intently listened. The speakers were Junya Koizumi (the Liberal Democratic Party), Masashi Ishibashi (the Japan Socialist Party) and Eki Sone (The Democratic Socialist Party). The three acted as diplomats for their parties and defended as such.

The president of the Debating Society welcomed the three lecturers and briefly explained the respective parties' policies in respect to diplomacy, security, and defence. Each member then spoke in turn.

Mr. Koizumi said that Japan has to promote assertive diplomacy in order to contribute to world peace and the welfare of humankind and strengthen the good neighbor policy with Asian nations. He added, "The ideal demilitarized neutralism is nothing but an unreal thing for the safety of Japan. The Japan-U.S. Security Treaty is so inescapable that the government will automatically prolong it. As for Okinawa, we wished

to obtain America's promise to return Okinawa as an ordinary base, without nuclear weapons."

Mr. Ishibashi, (the Japan Socialist Party) pointed out that positive neutral diplomacy was the only way to ensure Japan's security. Therefore he said, "Our party will do the best to ban the Security Pact in 1970. Premier Sato's policy towards the Okinawa problem does not represent the nation's will, because P.M. Sato puts U.S. interests first. I think it is very urgent to establish friendly relationship with Communist China regardless of any ideological differences."

Mr. Sone, (the Democratic Socialist Party), condemning the policies of both parties, said, "Our party will promote self-peace diplomacy based on friendly terms with all nations of the world, and admits having limited self defence weapons in order to protect Japan. As for the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, we assert a 'Security Pact without U.S. army continued stay in Japan'. We must establish friendship with the U.S. and have an independent Japan."

After this speech, 6 students from the Debating Society and audience questioned these three lecturers. The speech meeting finished at 3:30 p.m. 30 minutes longer than scheduled

## S.-G. Struggle At Hiyoshi

The general meeting of the Keio Univ. Student Self-Government was to be opened at the conference room No. 2 on Hiyoshi campus on May 10 but the meeting fell through. And about 70 students concerned with the S.-G. divided into two sections and caused rioting.

The reason for this rioting was that the S.-G. students of the Economics Dept. who supported Murakawa, chairman of the S.-G. on Hiyoshi campus differed widely from the S.-G. students of Law, Political and Literature Dept. in regard to his responsibility. The S.-G. students of the Economics Dept. told that though that meeting was called by chairman Murakawa to talk about such problems as the Mita Festival, a student hall and so on, the S.-G. students of Law, Political and Literature Dept. did not understand his attitude at the last general meeting on April 23 and a series of International Anti-War and Okinawa Return Movements on April 26-28. When the S.-G. students of Law, Political and Literature Dept. thought that he (Murakawa) made a mistake about the announcement of the meeting on April 23, and in spite of a lack of quorum took a vote and carried a resolution in the general meeting and that in the movement on April 26 he would lead the S.-G. students of the Economics Dept. to participate under the name of the S.-G. of Hiyoshi.

About 30 students of Waseda, Hosei and some other universities gathered around the conference room to support the S.-G. of the Economics Dept. When the room fell into confusion caused by the S.-G. students of Law, Political and Literature at about 5:30 p.m., they suddenly tried to enter by smashing window panes. When this confusion had died down a little, about 70 students including some helmeted students with wooden poles gathered on the campus and made trouble for a considerable time.

## 70th Anniversary Of Political Course

Ceremony marking the 70th anniversary of the political course in the Law Dept. was held at Mita school building of Keio University on May 10 under the auspices of the executive of the political course with four professors and one old graduate attended.

Prof. Uchiyama, chairman, spoke as follows, "You students of this course should study very hard and remember the spirit of this course." Yoneyama, principal of this department, also reported that the aim of this course was to cultivate leaders and that this course would be one independent department in the future. Second speaker Prof. Nakamura introduced retired Prof. Hayashi, Prof. Itakura, etc. Mr. Matsuno, our senior and minister of the Defence Agency emphasized the necessity of good human relations. "Even if generation changes, we human beings are equal," said he. The last speaker, Prof. Takahashi, head of the Art Academy, concluded by stories of his collage life.

## A Series of Nationwide Anti-War Movement



Zengakuren students hold a meeting at Meiji Park.

The gathering of the International Anti-War Movement took place on April 26.

On that afternoon, the Anti-War meeting was held at Meiji Park under the auspices of the International Anti-War Youth Committee. About 1,500 Sampa Zengakuren students and some 100 high school students gathered and supported their slogans, namely, "We Are Against the Vietnam War," "We Demand the General Evacuation of U.S. Military Forces from Asia," "We Demand the Return of Okinawa from the U.S." and "We Demand the Revocation of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty." The meeting concluded at 5:30 p.m. and the students began to march in demonstrating to the official residence of the Prime Minister, though this course was not authorized. Around 6:00 about 100 students of the Middle Core faction approaching the crossroad of Aoyama 1 chome clashed with riot police. Furthermore about 150 students of Shagakudo (Socialist Students League) joined the other at 6:30 and when they tried to advance they clashed with riot police. They then began to hurl small stones at riot police. At 7:30 the students of Shagakudo ceased their activities and held a meeting privately. This broke up at about 8:30 p.m. In this demonstration, 129 students were arrested and a coed was seriously injured.

The meeting demanding the return of Okinawa to Japan was held at the Hibiya Outdoor Concert Hall at 6:00 p.m. on April 27 under the auspices of Socialist Party, Sohyo (General Council of Trade Unions of Japan) and some other groups. And 1,500 Anti-Yoyogi (Anti-Japan Communists) students and 2,500 labourers participated. In the meeting, Mr. Katsumata, chairman of Japan Socialist Party said, "Okinawans are fighting for the return of Okinawa to Japan and are demanding the withdrawal of the U.S. military forces while we support them. And the representatives of Okinawa explained the present condition there. When the meeting was over, participants began demonstrating to Tokyo Station by way of Shimbashi. After students left the park, 213 students of Sampa Zengakuren were arrested, for they staged an unauthorized demonstration to the Foreign Office, violated the Metropolitan Safety Ordinance and intruded into a private home. On the other hand, Jichikaikyoto (S.-G. Joint Struggle) accompanied labourers went out of the park where they were surrounded by some 100 riot police. Then, two students were arrested while the others were tightly controlled by riot police right up to the finish of the demonstration at Kaji Bridge. Some S.-G. Joint Struggle students went on demonstrating to Tokyo. They held a short meeting there, which broke up around 10:00 p.m.

On April 28, Okinawa Day, such groups as the Socialist party, Sohyo (General Council of Trade Unions of Japan), Central Executive Committee for the return of Okinawa and Bonin Island (Communist), Kakumaru groups of Zengakuren and Sampa Rengo (Three-Factions Alliance) held separate meetings to demand the return of Okinawa to Japan, and in addition, staged rallies.

Moreover, the students of Keio, Tokyo and Rikkyo (St. Paul) Universities of Jichikai Kyoto (Self-Government Joint Struggle) held a meeting on Mita campus at 1:30 p.m. At the meeting, they criticized the Sampa Rengo Zengakuren and made such slogans as, 'Return Okinawa to Japan', 'We Oppose the Vietnam War', 'Down with the Sato Administration' and 'We Oppose the Renewal of Japan-U.S. Security Treaty'. At 3:00 they began to demonstrate to Shimizu-dai Park by way of the U.S. Embassy, where they rallied for a while. From there, they continued the parade to Hibiya park to participate in the sense of riot police and arrived there at 4:15. They immediately held a meeting and broke up at 5:00. Some of them went to Hibiya Park to participate in the meeting of Youth Executive Committee for the return of Okinawa (Socialist).

## N-Viet Envoy

Prof. Trink Dink Dy of Hanoi Medical College, a member of North Vietnam representatives now in Japan gave a lecture on 'actions of students and youth in the battle against the U.S. and the educational system of North Vietnam' at Yokohama Municipal University on May 22.

He said that in the battle against French, most of Vietnam students had entered the army, and today they are playing an active part in the battle against the U.S. As soon as the U.S. attacks on North Vietnam began, universities in Hanoi were removed to the countries and students constructed school buildings and their houses with bamboo and wood in cooperation with their teachers, he said. In spite of war time, the number of students is now increasing, especially that of girls, he went on, and students study under their respected teachers deriving textbooks and other assistance from their nation. He also said that science is encouraged very much and Chinese and Russian are the required subjects at universities, though two American words are known: "Hold up!" and "Walk quickly!"

He said that the quality of education is not only quite the Vietnamese method but they constructively take good method from foreign countries. Even under the wave of attack on North Vietnam, student would search for learning, he said, and they firmly believe that they will win the victory over the enemy. He said that they continue to study for the coming peaceful Vietnam.

## Asian Development Symposium

John Kenneth Galbraith, professor of Harvard University and a former American Ambassador to India, lectured on 'the Industrial State: Power and Object' at the Hall on the sixth floor of the Asahi Shimbunsha building on May 22 from 7:30 to 9:00 p.m.

The contents are as follows: The existence of large-scale enterprises is one of the remarkable characteristics in the modern industrial society. Now in the United States of America no more than about a thousand big enterprises have produced roughly half of G.N.P. First of all, we had better approach the matter of power to understand the well-developed society of today. The existence of power in

enterprises has changed with passage of time. About 200 years ago 'land' was a decisive factor and from the middle of the 19th century with the increase of 'capital', the power shifted to capitalists, and today 'capital' gave place to a new production factor—the structure of the enterprise organization. And the group personality became an important factor in it. And power exists on 'colleged groups'. Power is common to all industrial societies and from the standpoint of society formation, I cannot but say that the power is more important than ideology. But the power of the big enterprise organization's structure may give place to something else in the future.

# Way of Students' Movement

Last year we approached the problem of students' movement from the point of view that the foreign policy of the Government which will not take public opinion into consideration causes the violent movements of Anti-Japan Communist Party Zengakuren. Now each of them gets the conflicts of sections with violence. However, such movements prevent general students from taking part in students' movement, and therefore they have had less interest in students' movement. How do we overcome the crisis of students' movement? We try to consider what it should be.

## Failure to Organize United Front

The International Anti-War meeting was held at 4:00 p.m. on April 26, at Hibiya Outdoor Concert Hall, and about 4,000 Kaku-maru Zengakuren (Anti-Japan Communist Party), Student Government joint struggle students and other people attended.

After this, they began to demonstrate to Shimizudani Park, but they were sandwiched between armed police. During the march they repeatedly yelled out slogans, such as protests against the U.S. Army hospital, the Vietnam War and so on.

They also staged a zigzag demonstration at Benkei Bridge near Shimizudani Park and continually clashed with armed police and warning to arrest all the members was given at 6:30 p.m. Those who were not arrested assembled at Shimi-zudani Park. Some of them demonstrated to Yotsuya Station about 8:00 p.m. where they broke up. The cause for this rally

was a protest for the return of Okinawa without a nuclear base.

After that, about 300 students demonstrated to Hibiya Park, held a brief meeting, and finally broke up at about 10:50 p.m.

On the other hand, the students of the Socialist Student Faction and the Middle Core Faction assembled together at Meiji Park in Tokyo.

They attempted at a united front, but it was unsuccessful, and instead they used two microphones, and make separate speeches. Moreover, they violently attacked each other, with some of the students splitting into two factions using violence.

After the meeting they demonstrated separately, so in fact their attempt at a united front was unsuccessful.

What causes the violent conflict among the sections mentioned above?

One of the reasons seems to be that there is no one who ap-

preciates sections. Who in the world appreciates the sections and formulates their opinions to enable the students of each section to organize a united front? Of course, they do.

Students' movement do not consist of those few students who are very active, but consist of all students. So, the students' movement should not be controlled by the active few and political parties which corrupt now.

But in actual it is clear that most sections of students' movements have been controlled by these active few and those who belong to political parties. Such a tendency has been observed in case of Zengakuren right from the period of its initiation. The 16th All Japan Council (July 1955) and the Sunagawa Struggle (1956) especially promoted the conflicts among sections.

We are now faced with the problem of whether to renew the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty or not. If the position of students' movements do not alter, they will be in danger of their own collapse, because partially violent movements and actions

under the direction of particular political parties make it impossible for general students to take part in them.

We can be partially sympathized with the violent movements, but they result in the extreme suppression by the authorities. Consequently, does there seem to be nothing for it but so expect that general students will realise their indifference to students' movements and the theories of each section?

We hope they take subjective part in students' movements. As a result of such attitudes of general students, the violent conflicts among sections will give rise to the conflicts on theories.

## Our Vision To Movement

Almost all of the sections now act in view of socialist revolution. Each of them states "We who take most radical line are the real vanguard." However it is doubtful whether all the members share the same belief. In



International Anti-War demonstrations Held on 26-28, April.

this respect, we strongly feel the absence of those who estimate them.

Among us students, there are various assertions and ideologies about all sorts of problems; for example the university problems. We can sympathize most of their slogans, but they carry out the violent factional rivalry in vain and we feel, the form of the demonstration more indifferent.

We want to state our opinions on students' movement.

There are many strata in society, such as, the labouring stratum, housewives' stratum, the salaried stratum and so on. Needless to say, we, the students, form the student stratum, and people do each stratum, and each of them takes anti-war movements, the return movement of Okinawa and so on.

It is ideal that every stratum decides on its own movement, when there are common demands, each stratum forms a mutual connection and take common action.

Now, we are students, not labours and therefore cannot really understand the labouring stratum. Therefore, we cannot regard the students' movement as one of the labour movements and the students' movement based on such a theory are inclined to wake the students and go to heroic fance and radicalism.

We want to express the students' movement as the movement of a stratum. This does not mean the denial of the various sections existing now. As students we have various assertions as was said above, so we must independently think and take part in movements of both inside and outside the university.

Movement members should think of the position that they are placed in and heighten the movements by theoretical strife. These movements need never aim at the socialist revolution. Would we deal with various problems in the light of knowledge which we are acquired in our university? By doing so, we become independent.

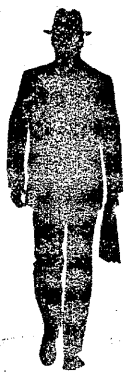
Now then how should we overcome the state of the crisis of the students' movements driven to the violent strife among the sections?

We think that it is a urgent problem that we appreciated the present students' movement. Needless to say that our indifference to the Students' Movement is the most difficult obstacle to overcome.

However, we firmly protest against the fact that students of action ignore us, as we want to request that the sections cause the factional rivalry in our presence.

We want to request that each section of students' movement expresses its own assertions in the theory. They should make the theoretical strife, that is to say, they should enable us estimated them.

If this situation continues we assert that the students' movement will always be on the outsider of society, and will never become the vanguard.



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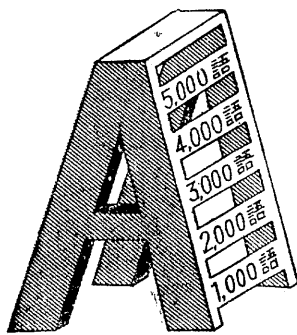
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# Communist China Cannot Live Alone!

Whenever the relations between the East and the West become strained, the nations of the world cannot help being conscious of "the latent influence" of Communist China. We must acknowledge that we cannot discuss the world problems while ignoring Communist China who has a immense territory and a quarter of the world's population. Therefore, Communist China should realize her position in world politics.

If we, the Mita Campus, regard the Chinese problem as the point of contact of both the East-West and the North-South problems, then we come across many contradictions and limitations which Maoism contains, in both foreign and domestic policies.

We examined the diplomatic policies of three nations who are interested in the return of Communist China to the international stage.

## Maoism Leads People

Mao appears himself as a deified embodiment in Communist China, and the thought of Mao has developed Maoism. Maoism forms the diplomatic policy of Communist China. The people of Communist China regard Maoism as the result of the creative progress of Marxism and Leninism and of its 'Sinification.' What forms the basis of Maoism and what does it aim at?

The characteristics of Maoism are: firstly, Maoism is established on the thought of the peoples' revolution. In other words, it is based on the peasants who were exploited by the leaders before Mao.

Secondly, the Maoism is on the 'public system' and the 'multi-track', and it assumes a form of the union of the vanguard party, the peasants and the red guards. On this track, the proletariat take an autocratic political stand, in close cooperation with the labourers and peasants' alliance.

Thirdly, the Maoism places importance on the conscious revolution as well as the social revolution, aiming at the purity of the socialistic revolution.

Fourthly, the Maoism supports "the theory of the middle-class factor" that the middle-class whose focal point is the Merchant Class is one of the revolutionary power.

Now what is the origin of the communistic system which is due to Maoism mentioned above? It is the Confucianist humanism and the despotism, peculiar to the Orient. The leaders before Mao could not rule over the peasant by means of Confucian ethics which is based on moral training, and regulation of one's family, country and the world, so Maoists are now trying to succeed in ruling the peasant by means of the communistic system.

We can compare the characteristics of Maoism as 'Sinification' of Marxism and Leninism, in the slogans, "Support The Cold-War", "Success In The Revolution By Violence", "Struggle Of National Relieving" and "Autocracy By The Proletariat" with the slogans of the U.S.S.R.,

"Co-existence With Capitalism", "Transmission From Capitalism To Socialism Without Violence", "Competence Without Crush", "The Nation And the Party Of All The People".

The logical foundation of these slogans and the Cultural Revolution is 'the Theory of Internal Contradiction of the System'. This theory holds that, every after the socialistic revolution, there would still remain the stains of the former society and the thoughts of the bourgeoisie's rights as a sprout for capitalism to revive. Inherent in this theory is also the thought that they should always keep on carrying out the revolution to weep away those internal contradictions.

The Cultural Revolution began in the spring of 1966, chiefly due to forces such as foreign isolation and voices which proclaimed Maoism for modernization. It has now developed into a struggle of hegemony in their Chinese politics. Her domestic and foreign policy will be discussed later, but meanwhile the destination of the Cultural Revolution itself will answer whether the realization of the caste struggle will have solved many problems, as the Communist Party has officially stated.

whether one side or the other is dominant at the time. 'The theory of centralized world position' itself changes as the revolution of Communist China progresses and the world situation alters.

The recognition of the world situation is exceedingly optimistic and 'the theory of centralized world position' is not elucidated as a theory by Communist China herself. The words of Mao, "a papier-maché tiger", "the East Wind overwhelms the West Wind", etc., points to criticism of the imperialism of the U.S., but on the contrary, these words must ultimately rebound back to Communist China herself. The theory of the export revolution, which has been argued between Communist China and U.S.S.R., has scarcely any actual influence, and it is doubtful that the existence itself of the centralized region has an essential contradiction.

It is necessary for Communist China to participate in the United Nations (U.N.), which commands the advantageous position for the other states as well as her own. In this respect, Communist China must attempt to participate in U.N. from an independent standpoint, not giving a clear-cut solution for the problem as an argument to represent China. Practically speaking, Communist China has a firm attitude because the Republic of China, which Communist China regards as her Province of Communist China, has a U.S. army. She, however, explains a too optimistic way of the world situation as 'the theory of centralized world position'.

Communist China must first of all prosper and win true international confidence rather than prestige by words. The other states will then have to change their policies according to the new international situation. The problem of Communist China and the Republic of China must be solved after consultation in U.N. assembly. Such participation will solve not only the Formosa problem but also many other problems. It is dangerous for Communist China not to participate in U.N., because she has potential power for contributing to world peace. If Communist China wants to be recognized as an independent state, she must also regard the other states as independent entities. A situation without true mutual understanding cannot lead the true peace. Communist China must advance prosperity and open the eyes to the international world, rather than being isolated from it.

## Foreign Policies Toward Communist China

### INDO-CHINA

General fundamental attitudes taken by Indo-China toward Communist China are summarized in the next three items:

1. To solve the pending question rather than stir up conflict in the future. For that purpose, the respective government solved problems of the nationality of the Chinese merchants as well as the problem of boundaries. Taking such a viewpoint, they restricted the economic field of Chinese merchants to prevent them from being the breeding ground of Communist China's foreign policy.

2. To adhere to a neutral nonalliance policy and their own independent attitudes which should incline neither towards Communist China nor the West. Concretely speaking, they will retain their own independent status and have economic and cultural relations with any countries regardless of their ideologies.

3. To combine a cultural, trade or economic and technology treaty. To adopt a positive policy by exchanging mutual assistance or cooperation.

Now we take the example of Burma.

In 1960 Burma and Communist China concluded a Boundary Treaty, a Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression, and have so far maintained good relations. Burma's relation with Communist China worsened when compared with the situation before the Cultural Revolution. However she did not change her basic policy to maintain mutual well-being and prosperity and for this purpose she adhere to her nonalliance policy. The position of nonalliance stands between the U.S. and Communist China confrontation and its significance has changed when compared with that of past coldwar days. But that seems to be the best policy for their independence.

### SWEDEN

Politically and economically, Sweden is one of the most advanced ones of the smaller countries. Although traditionally neutral in international affairs, she participates in many forms of international cooperation.

The pursuits of all efforts to equip the United Nations better for the maintenance of peace, as well as a desire to give a realistic direction to the work of the organization, motivates the

Swedish consistent position that Communist China should take China's seat in the different organs of the U.N. The Swedish stresses that it is very unreasonable to keep one-fourth of the world population out of such an international organization. Although their industrialized economy is dependent on foreign trade, they have little trade with China. So her attitude toward China can be said to have existed mainly from political reason.

Since Sweden recognized Communist China in 1950, she has made all efforts to welcome her. She was strongly against the U.S. proposal that two-third majority was needed to let Communist China be in the U.N. She opposes any obstacles to keep Communist China out of the world society.

### FRANCE

French policies owe much to the individuality of President De Gaulle.

President De Gaulle thinks that today's world politics hinges around two big countries, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and ideology of each restrains the freedom of other countries. In the Western Bloc every country accept the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. policy as predominant in the Eastern Bloc. He hates such a dependent system and follows his own unique policy. It is necessary to be a friendly terms with Communist China, he thinks similarly. By means of the nuclear bomb he has attempted and resolved the balance of power among the U.S., U.S.S.R., Communist China and the "Honor" that France once had. So President De Gaulle's diplomacy has dangerous elements. At this point we must remember that even if the world attains peace, though insular nationalism and nuclear power, peace will never be eternal. It is a truism that his diplomacy is unique, but it has many serious faults.

The world which never become peaceful by narrow-minded ideology, racialism or by a dependence on big powers. When in Paris, Preliminary Vietnam Peace Talks are being held now, countries have closed their door to Communist China because of a difference in ideology. Such a policy can only hinder the realization of world peace. Every country in the world must positively face the Communist China's problem, if they wish to contribute successfully to world peace.

## Limitation of Her Policies

The Maoism was formulated into a real policy, 'the theory of the agriculture-first principle' was initiated.

This theory was based not only on the real condition of Communist China, an agricultural nation, but intensively on Maoism itself. At the root of Maoism, there is the thought of organizing farm-labours that produced all his theory as mentioned above. And it also influenced 'the theory of the agriculture-first principle'. The thought of the organization of farm-labours is founded on the "method to carry out a revolution on the basis of farming villages." When Mao started the communism revolution in China (1930-50), he adopted this "method" and it was very powerful in carrying out a racial revolution by guerilla tactics. In the extensive area of China, it is an excellent tactic to defeat the enemy by making farm villages the base, surrounding the cities with an area between villages and cities, and demolishing gradually the balance between friend and foe, in a long protracted struggle.

But, if at present, 'industry is made the leading power' as the leaders of Communist China admitted, even if 'agriculture is made the foundation', it is

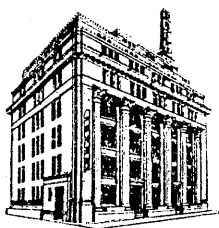
doubtful whether 'the theory of the agriculture-first principle' based on the "method" is still available. The present situation in which, in the process of the third five-year plan, Communist China has already reformed, specialized and modernized industry and has been building a modern social country from the old developing country, tells us that the "method", effective in the revolution of the old developing country of China, has lost its importance nowadays. Therefore 'the theory of agriculture-first principle' is due when it comes to the actual policy of the industrial modernization of Communist China, but can never be guaranteed to hold good perpetually, we can expect much less to be exported to foreign countries to become the line of action that they should take.

Guerilla tactics that Communist China claimed, depending also on the "method", have now reached a limit. Guerilla tactics, itself were effectual in the Chinese Revolution as mentioned above, and at present the tactics are still influential in civil war of the developing countries, for example Vietnam. But, in this case, the tactics do not perfectly conform to the public democracy-revolution that Communist China has advocated in defeating the U.S., her greatest

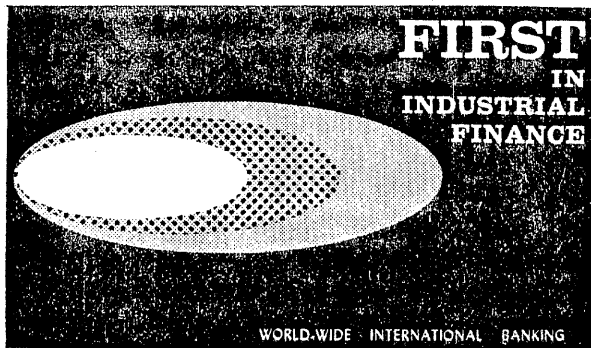
enemy. The fact that peace-negotiations between North-Vietnam and the U.S. has begun in Paris against Chinese opposition, guerilla tactics contained high racial characteristics. It is not consistent with Communist China's world revolution theory with guerilla tactics, and in Communist China itself, it will reasonably be expected that, if the armed forces are being modernized and organized, this guerilla tactics theory will gradually lose their influence.

Historically, the diplomatic policy of Communist China has three facets. The first is what is called 'the theory of centralized world position', the second is 'the five principles of peace', and the third is the determined attitude which even lasts up to present time. All attitudes, however, have 'the theory of centralized world position' as the basis, and it means that the diplomatic policy of Communist China has a consistent viewpoint. In 'the theory of centralized world position' the mosaic-like recognition of the world situation and the emphasis on the positive meaning of emancipation struggle by the people exist side by side. The diplomatic policy changes according to

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# Japanese Spirit In "Harakiri"

"Harakiri" means that one kills himself by cutting his belly with his sword, and it is very famous that in Japan with the "Bushido" (Japanese warrior) class, such a thing really existed in olden times. However, we should not permit Harakiri to be only treated as an object of curiosity. Still more, the idea that Japan is represented by Harakiri is never comfortable for us, Japanese. The deeper consideration is necessary for Harakiri. We want to approach Harakiri, to which many people have a misunderstanding and prejudice, in order to find a part of the Japanese mental construction.

## "Harakiri"

It must be very difficult for the people of one country to understand the customs of another. Harakiri is concerned with death. Death one of the most important things for not only human beings but all living creatures, and it is dangerous to consider Harakiri out of mere curiosity. Therefore it is our duty to analyze and consider our own customs properly, and to report them in order to avoid others' misunderstandings due to prejudice. In so doing, we can take Japanese mental construction into consideration and think over our problems we are facing now. And we badly need to do so.

First of all we will briefly mention the history of Harakiri. For the men who first commit-

ted Harakiri, it must have been only a means of suicide, so the origin of Harakiri was perhaps accidental. Now we pick up the problem of Harakiri only when it is related to complicated reasons rather than just a means. The oldest example on records was seen at the end of 12th century. About that time it was committed in order to prove his loyalty and to show his bravery. As time progressed on...at the beginning of 17th century, Harakiri was formed as a means of death penalty. This penalty included a certain format, instead of tearing his belly, in fact other people cut off his head.

These differences in reasons to commit Harakiri involve various kinds of problems. And so we cannot easily define Harakiri in one word. However, we think it is a good way of solving the problem to refer to "Bushido."

## Our Basic Character

Then why did Harakiri occur in the Samurai spirit? To answer this question we must know the process by which the samurai spirit had been fastened in mental climate of Japan. The Japanese tend to have an insularism which is tinged with supremacy, living in Far Eastern insularity and having no experience of being a colony. Buddhist mutabilism, monsoon climate governs the change of season and Japanese system whose fundamental element is the large family system...all these forced the Japanese to endure everything and to foster mental serenity of life, having expectation with his senior and his betters. The Japanese therefore did not have resistant spirit.

With the above-mentioned as a background, the samurai could join the strong relation between master and servant in the later part of the Heian Period (from 8 century to 12 century) when the world was plunged in confusion due to the fall of its aristocratic govern-

ment. They had to protect themselves from their enemies. They therefore had swords and gave themselves up to stronger samurai, their master. Samurai spirit occurred in such a Japanese mental climate and such a historical situation as a background. The samurai, who killed enemies for themselves and for their masters were certainly severe with themselves at the same time.

It is said that the character of the Japanese has changed since World War II. But the Japanese opportunism, which is her fundamental character has been universal. If a Japanese, then, is not put to blame, he may easily turn from former standpoint to a new one when he is said to have a wrong opinion. But the Japanese have surprisingly changed during the past 20 years. It is really true that Japanese people have lost their faith in 'Giri' and 'On'. And their way of thinking itself has changed from the stereo typed idea of social-service to a flexible individual one. However, this tendency of Japanese people shows duplicity of a people which makes it easy for the people themselves to change their attitude toward the world itself from militarism to opportunism.

## Speciality of Bushido

"Bushido" was the moral of the Samurai (warrior) class in the feudal ages in Japan. It originated therefore more than anything else in a life-and-death struggle of Samurai in the battlefield, and it esteemed valour, glory, faith, military fame and propriety. Not only did it apply to morals in the battlefield, but Bushido also came to be important in the daily life of the Samurai through daily training in military arts of courtesy practice.

The Samurai's main principle was integrity and simplicity in daily life. This originated in the ethics of making little of his own life in order to act up to his honor of faith. Bushido, however, with the change of time, lost the original moral and became only apparent and ostentatious.

In reference to "Bushido", we will consider "Harakiri" which cannot be understood in the modern world. The central idea of "Bushido" came from the Japanese relationship between master and servant. The relationship in Japan was never

that of Western World in the middle ages which was a two-way agreement. The master of Japan (Shujin) had one-way rule of servant (Samurai or Kashin) and his supremacy was absolute. The servant (Samurai) devoted himself to his master even sometimes sacrificing his own life in his devotion. Considering these things, "Harakiri" was one of the symbolical means of "Bushido". When a man killed himself with his own hand, and quite suggestively in addition, it was very courageous and we can say that he had expressed himself by his death. However, it was within the system of Bushido and within the samurais' class, consequently it has its own limitation.

So we can say that the act of "Harakiri" itself was a courageous challenge to man's universal problem—"To die", but at the same time "Harakiri" has no significance or no meaning in our age. Because it was within one class (Samurais' class) and only the act of self-destruction, and never outside these conditions, that is to say, it is not the theory of universal.

## Japanese Independence

As for the explanation of was forced the Harakiri, un-

Japanese Bushido, certainly Japanese have the ability to accommodate themselves to the circumstance. It seems that the idea of self-completion rendered a rare and severe outlook on life and made finally justified the behavior of Harakiri. But it is doubtful whether all Japanese admit Harakiri themselves. Though Harakiri implies the character of Japan, it is never representative of all Japanese. Much more than this, it is too urgent an idea that the Harakiri-Spirit engendered in all Japanese. For example it was connected directly with the war, and as a result of which, it produced the tactic of Kamikaze-Plane attack. Even if the young pilot of the Kamikaze-Plane, wanted to make their death justice, that death must be compulsory. Sympathy for them is something that suggests sympathy for the Bushi who

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### EDITORIAL

## Suspend the Vietnam War

The Paris Conference is in session on discussions about the Vietnam War. Firstly, both the U.S.A. and North Vietnam, sticking fast to their respective opinions, sound out the situation. They say there is indications of a compromise in line with the de-escalation of the bombing by the U.S.A.

It is, however, impossible to speak of the settlement of the Vietnam War and the achievement of the aim of the Paris Conference. Generally speaking, the U.S.A. and North Vietnam take a different standpoint so as to lead the Paris Conference. In other words, the U.S.A. attends the Conference chiefly because the Vietnam War has come to a stalemate and because of the necessity of strategic change with the Presidential election close at hand. North Vietnam attends for she desires no further destruction and their way of thinking is that the U.S.A. is the real aggressor. It is, however, more important that the international public opinion is considered more. Mankind has essentially a desire for peace. The request for the Conference by many other states and the unsurfing of anti-war sentiment from many parts of the world lead to the opening of the Paris Conference. In this sense the international public opinion which brought a sign of the solution of the Vietnam War must be valued rightfully.

The next attitude is a problem. It is doubtful whether they have the original aim of the solution of the War in mind, because they emphasize the importance of the Conference itself. There is the strong possibility of a breakdown because of the strategic aim of the U.S.A. and North Vietnam in the Conference, and it is said that the success of the Conference itself is a matter calling for prior settlement. It is almost impossible to find an essential solution to the Vietnam problem. They can only find a way of compromise which will continue the War, hence the Vietnamese will be suffering further.

What is the aim of the Paris Conference? It is for peace in Vietnam. The U.S.A., North Vietnam and the Viet-Cong are fighting for peace in Vietnam, but it is apparent at a glance which is a more effective way for the attainment of peace. Now the thought of appealing to arms for the peace is nonsense.

If the Paris Conference really wants the peace, the preparation before consultation is necessary. The U.S.A. must recognize that her true relationship of sovereign and subjects as a messenger of peace has been destroyed. The Viet-Cong must recognize that they could carry out only the destruction itself, but that North Vietnam also must realize they are inflicting pains upon the Vietnamese and not upon the U.S.A., and they must abandon their weapons. The suspension of the War is the first matter.

The Vietnamese must create their own peace by themselves. A conference on Vietnam will be held among North Vietnam, South Vietnam and the Viet-Cong. The U.S.A. is an outsider in this case. The U.S.A. cannot be so foolish as not to understand the uselessness of the Domino Theory. After the War, South Vietnam and the Viet-Cong will establish their independent standpoint and play a role of an insider, not of an outsider. North Vietnam will struggle for the peace of the Vietnamese, recognizing the sentiment of the Vietnamese and abandoning the self-conceit that they have a communistic state of their own and not bringing forward the argument on ideology. It is clear that Vietnamese do not want the war. It is best to select one way from the many possible ways for peace in Vietnam by their own will. The other states must not interfere, but they can only cooperate with the Vietnamese for the Vietnamese' working out their salvation by themselves.

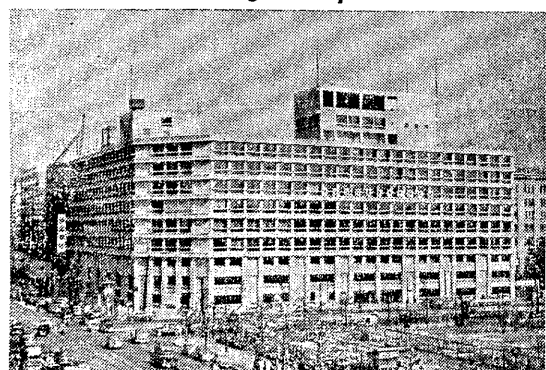
We must not repeat the same tragic error of using arms for world peace. The cruelty of war and the suffering of people are a disgrace to the conscience of mankind. The people of the world must now rise to seek for world peace. Namely, we must show that imperialism or colonialism cannot be warrantable today, and we must recognize that universal peace of this world is brought on only by true mutual understanding. A war is useless, for it leads only to destruction of mankind. Any opposition and difficulties must be solved by consultation which leads a new spirit of the accord and cooperation. In this sense, the Paris Conference must be successful, and we must welcome it.

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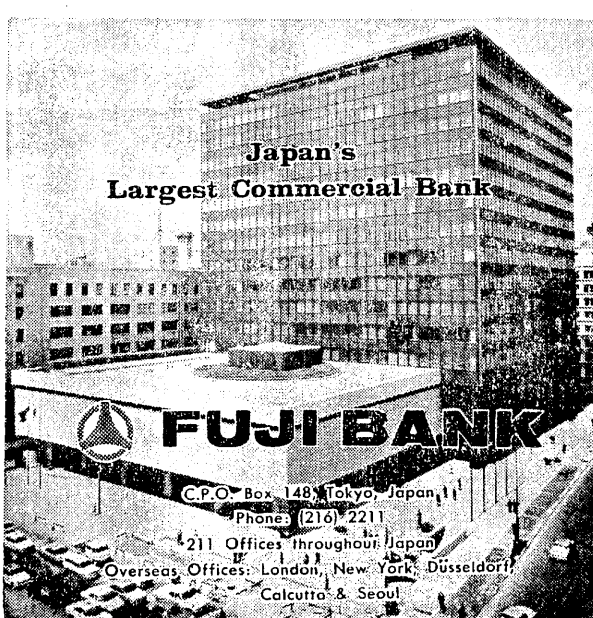
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